

The University of Chicago

THE LOCALIZATION OF FUNCTIONS IN
THE POMONA AREA, CALIFORNIA

PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
PHYSICAL SCIENCES IN CANDIDACY FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY
1933

By
WILLIS H. MILLER

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THE LOCALIZATION OF FUNCTIONS IN THE POMONA AREA, CALIFORNIA

Willis H. Miller

THE Pomona Area, an arbitrary district chosen as the subject for this paper, comprises about twenty square miles in the extreme eastern part of Los Angeles County. Boundaries were established to include all the city of Pomona (population 20,804) and reasonable samples of each major type of rural land utilization found in the surrounding country-side (Figure 1). Nearly 80 per cent of the

Pomona Area is on the middle slope of the smooth, gently sloping piedmont alluvial plain bordering the San Gabriel Mountains, but rocky hills dominate the northwest and the southwest corners (Figure 2).

Analysis of the cultural landscape—the objective expression of functions—reveals three major districts and eighteen minor sections in the Pomona Area (Figure 3). Stores, factories,

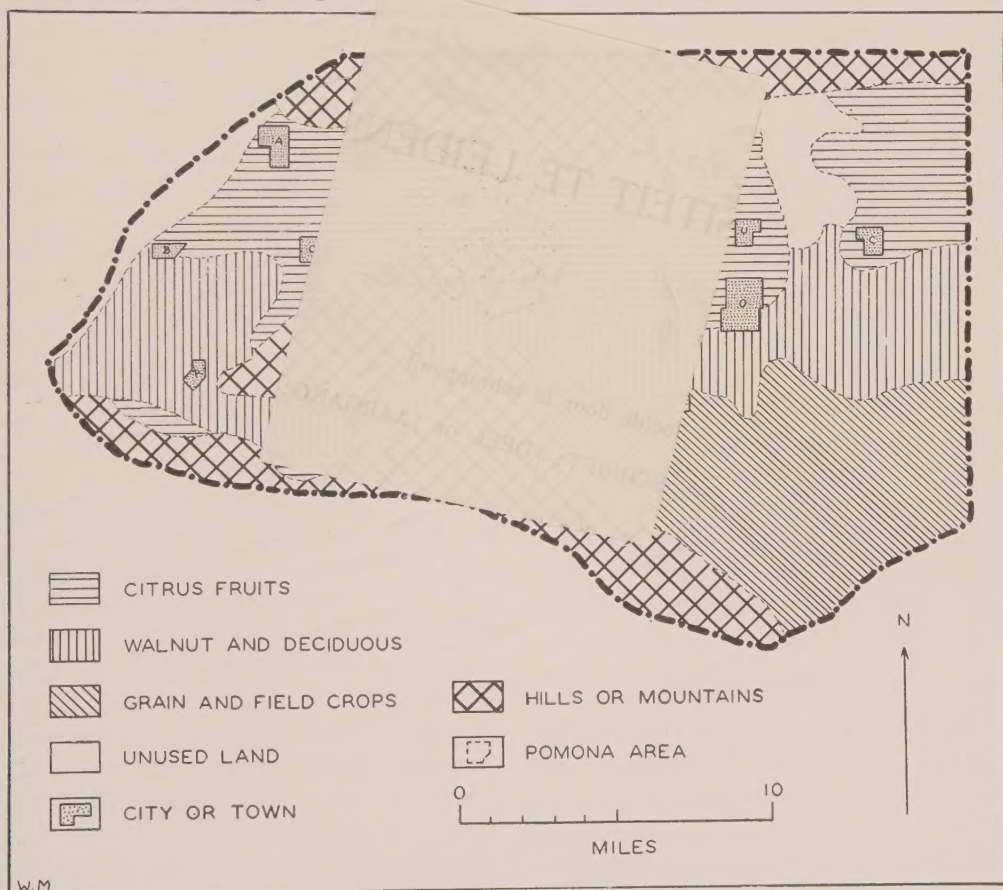


FIGURE 1.—Land utilization in the territory functionally tributary to Pomona. This reconnaissance map shows the zoning of crops, the grouping of cities in the prosperous Citrus Belt, the strategic location of Pomona at the eastern end of a wide pass between San Jose and the Puente Hills, and the variety of rural functions performed within the boundaries of the Pomona Area. Reference also should be made to the map on page 73 in Goode's *School Atlas* (revised edition).

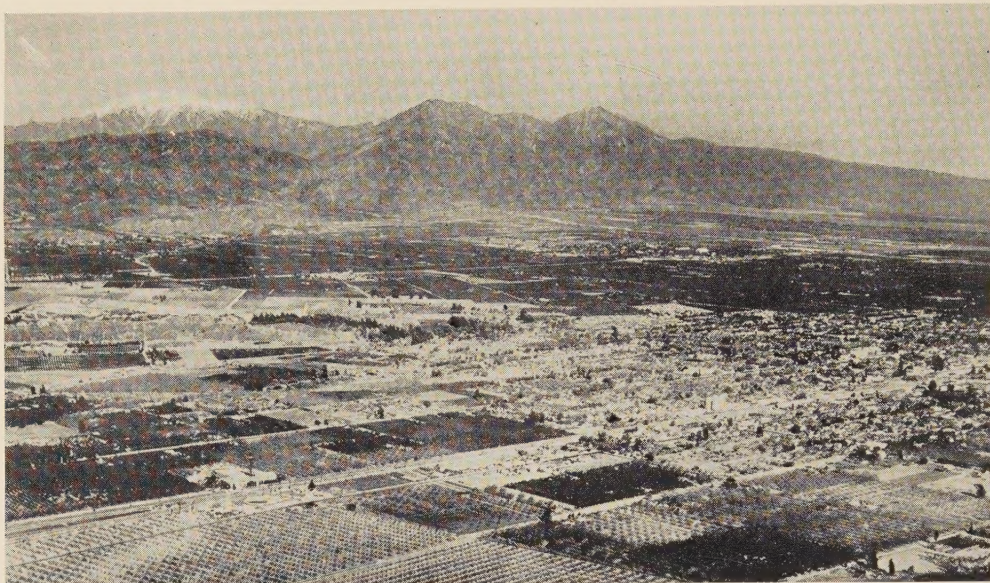


FIGURE 2.—A winter view looking northeast over Pomona and vicinity. The city of Pomona is seen on the smooth, gently sloping alluvial plain at the foot of San Gabriel Mountains. Evergreen citrus groves stand out as dark areas, but deciduous walnut trees in the foreground are without leaves at this season. (Courtesy Spence, Los Angeles.)

churches, residences, and other city functional forms are localized within the Urban District where they are arranged in fairly symmetrical zones. The Peri-Urban District adjacent to the Urban District, is characterized by small, intensive poultry ranches and by large community establishments such as the Fair Grounds. Horticulture, agriculture, and besticulture predominate in the Extra-Urban District; citrus fruits, walnuts, and field crops occupy appropriate sections of the alluvial plain, while the rough, uncultivated San Jose and Puente Hills provide winter range for a band of sheep.

THE URBAN DISTRICT

Most of the common business, manufacturing, commercial, institutional, and residential functions characteristic of a country city with 20,000 inhabitants, and in addition a variety of special commercial and manufacturing functions reflecting the particular nature of the surrounding countryside, are found within

the Urban District. These functions are localized within six distinct sections—the Business Section, the Railroad Section, the Northern and the Southern Institutional Sections, and the Northern and the Southern Residential Sections (Figure 3).

THE BUSINESS SECTION

Retail stores, cafés, hotels, offices, and other business establishments are concentrated in the Business Section near the middle of the Urban District and close to the center of population. The center of activity is at the junction of Second Street and Garey Avenue, the two most important highways of the Pomona Area (Figure 4). This Business Section has the greatest number of functions and the greatest congestion of functional forms in the entire Pomona Area. Localization is evidenced by (1) the type of establishment in the section, (2) the grouping of establishments, and (3) the functions performed at various levels (Figure 5).

Except for gasoline stations and food markets, both of which are common in outlying parts of the city, a majority of all retail stores located within the Urban District are found in the Business Section. These establishments primarily serve Pomona and Arena A, but they also supply residents of Arena B with most items not kept in stock by storekeepers in the small near-by towns (Figure 6). Few really superior quality stores are found in Pomona, however, because local people and residents of the surrounding countryside commonly go to Los Angeles to buy luxury and novelty goods.

Three subdivisions can be recognized within the Business Section—(1) a central core in the middle blocks of Second Street characterized by high-rent establishments (dry goods stores, drug stores, better restaurants, leading financial institutions), (2) an irregular zone about

one block wide which surrounds the central core; this secondary zone has moderate-rent establishments (smaller financial institutions, food markets, household equipment stores), and (3) a patchy outer zone characterized by low-rent establishments (automotive concerns, old residences).

Different functions are performed on the various floor levels in the Business Section. Retail stores occupy practically all street-level frontage and, in the middle blocks of Second Street, some space on the second-floor level. Stores function most successfully on the ground floor because such sites are conveniently accessible to shoppers, and because they are well placed to appeal to passers-by through the medium of window displays. Most second-floor space is devoted to offices, clubs, hotel rooms, apartments, and other functional forms which require close-in locations and moderate rentals. Offices and hotel rooms dominate the floors above the second story level. Reputation and service are the attractions of establishments of this latter type, and much of their business is done by appointment.

THE RAILROAD SECTION

The axial Railroad Section, a long narrow strip extending east and west across the center of the city, includes the tracks and depots of the Southern Pacific and the Union Pacific Railroads and practically all of the important commercial and manufactural plants in the Pomona Area (Figures 3 and 7). These plants are localized in the Railroad Section because it offers a combination of excellent railroad facilities, central location in the Urban District, and relatively low priced land.

The cultural landscape of the Railroad Section gives an impression of openness and low relief. In the central part, adjacent to the Business Section, the paral-

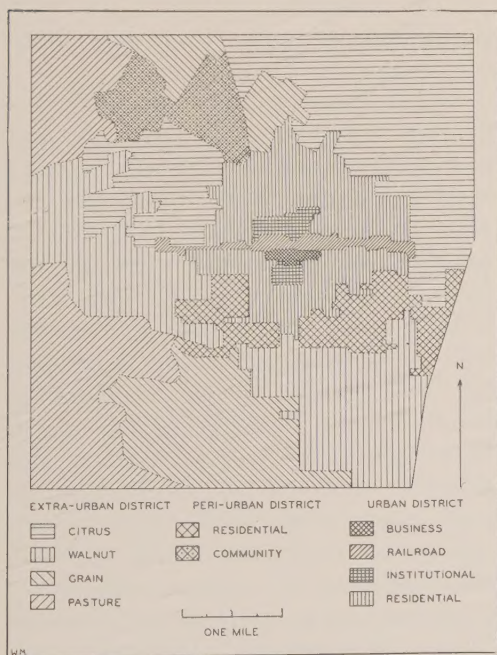


FIGURE 3.—The localization of functions in the Pomona Area as derived from field analysis of the cultural landscape. The Urban District occupies about 15%, the Peri-Urban District about 15%, and the Extra-Urban District about 70% of this territory.

lel rights of way of the two railroads carry a total of seven tracks and serve to isolate the establishments on the north side from those on the south side. Separation of the half dozen major plants by small establishments and by vacant lots further contributes to the characteristic openness of this area. Sheet steel, lumber, and brick have been used to construct serviceable but ordinary looking industrial buildings. Some landscaping has been attempted in front of a few plants, but such aesthetic attempts only serve to emphasize the general unattractiveness of this part of Pomona.

The Railroad Section has the largest number of functions which are directly associated with Arenas B and C, and even more distant areas (Figure 6). These regional functions are performed by (1) manufacturing plants, (2) citrus handling establishments, (3) bulk goods handling establishments, (4) feed handling concerns, and (5) a variety of establishments including two laundries, two wholesale groceries, the gas and electric plants, a storage warehouse, contractors' yards, and several repair garages.

Except for the Pomona Tile Company which sells most of its product in Los Angeles, all of the manufacturing plants located in the Railroad Section are in Pomona to serve specific needs of the surrounding countryside. The Pomona Pump Company, largest industrial plant in the city, makes a water lubricated, deep-well turbine pump popular with ranchers and water companies of the neighborhood; practically all of the water used in this area must be pumped from the gravels of the piedmont plain. Markets in other parts of the United States and in foreign countries have increased so much that at the present time less than half of the output of this company is sold in California. The California Fruit Wrapping Mills

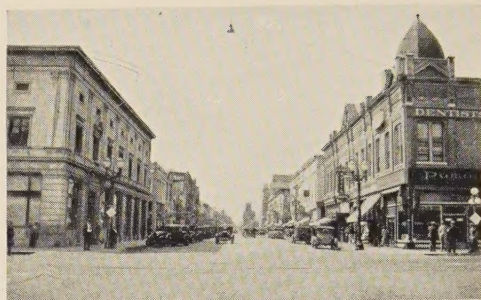


FIGURE 4.—Second Street looking west from Garey Avenue in the heart of the business section. Good examples of the old (right) and the new (left) styles of architecture are seen in the foreground. A striking predominance of awnings is observed on the sunny northern side of the street.

manufacture tissue fruit wraps which are distributed to orange packing houses throughout the Citrus Belt. The Brogdex Company produces machinery to apply a patented method of orange processing employed by scores of packing houses throughout Southern California. Eight small metal working plants manufacture and repair smudge pots, chicken ranch equipment, and other items used by the ranchers in the vicinity of Pomona.

Three citrus packing houses—the independent Baker Citrus Company, and two plants of the Pomona Fruit Growers Exchange—pack several hundred thousand boxes of citrus fruits produced each year by the groves which almost surround the northern half of the city.

Bulk goods are handled and distributed by eight wholesale oil depots and by seven lumber yards. Pomona oil depots formerly served Arena C, but in recent years similar distribution plants have been established in Ontario, Covina, and other towns which have grown rapidly in population during the past two decades. At present, therefore, petroleum products from the Pomona depots are distributed chiefly to points within Arena B. In the early days Pomona had the only lumber yard between Pasadena and San Bernardino. Newer yards in many other towns, how-

ever, have reduced the service area of local lumber yards to but little more than Arena A.

Six feed companies distribute feed to the poultry ranches within Arena A, and to a lesser extent to adjacent parts of Arena B. Most of this poultry feed is sold in the territory immediately south of the city where scores of small intensive poultry ranches are located. Similar feed concerns in other near-by towns make it impossible for the feed companies of Pomona to serve the more dis-

dominate two close-in areas, one to the north and one to the south of the central parts of the Business and the Railroad Sections (Figure 3).

The Northern Institutional Section is located athwart the intersection of Garey and Holt Avenues adjacent to the populous and prosperous Northern Residential Section. Here are found ten of Pomona's twelve large churches, the headquarters of the Elks, the Knights of Pythias, the Y. M. C. A., the Boy Scouts, the Pomona Coöperative Ex-

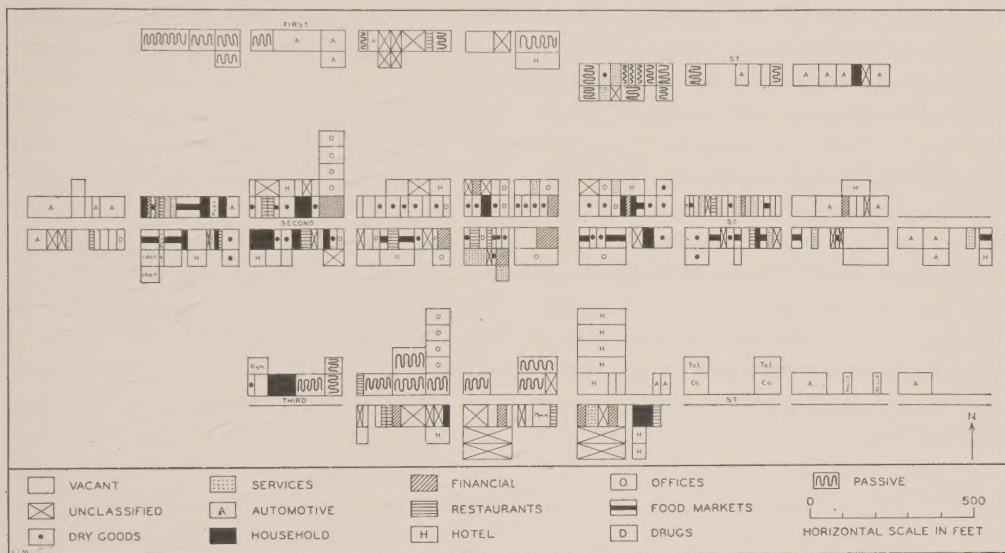


FIGURE 5.—Double profiles of the east-west business streets. This map graphically shows street-front utilization in the business section. The vertical scale is exaggerated about four times. Special attention is directed to the localization of dry goods stores in the middle blocks of Second Street.

tant parts of Arena B. Los Angeles milling concerns grind and sack more than half of the feed sold in Pomona, but several local houses have electrically operated mills for grinding corn from Nebraska and wheat and barley from the San Joaquin Valley to suit the local trade. Grain raised in the neighborhood is not used by Pomona mills because it is poorer in quality than grain from more inland, fog-free areas.

THE INSTITUTIONAL SECTIONS

Institutional establishments—churches, government agencies, and clubs—

change, the Municipal Employment Agency, the public library, and the Uptown Business Section (Figure 8). Blocks and parts of blocks between these establishments are occupied by big old dwellings which formerly housed some of the city's wealthy citizens. Within the past few decades virtually all of these houses have suffered a marked decline in quality.

The Southern Institutional Section is located just south of the Business Section at the intersection of Garey Avenue and Fifth Street. This section formerly had over 80 per cent of the insti-

tutional establishments of the city. Comparatively recent migration of functions to the North Side has left this southern section with but four churches, two clubs, the Salvation Army, the Pomona Valley Welfare League, the Chamber of Commerce, and the offices of the Los Angeles County Fair. However, all local and other governmental agencies functioning in Pomona, except the library and the employment office, still maintain headquarters in this older institutional section. The continuance of these governmental agencies in the Southern Institutional Section reflects the convenient proximity of this area to the Business Section and to the intersection of Garey Avenue and Second Street, highway focal point of the Pomona Area. Some of the oldest residences in the city are found between the institutional establishments which dominate this section. Most of these houses, like those of the Northern Institutional Section, have deteriorated greatly in recent years and now present a rather unkempt appearance.

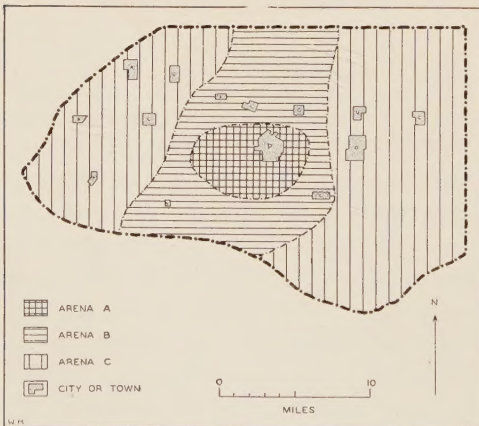


FIGURE 6.—Local territory functionally tributary to Pomona. Arena A is tributary to the city in practically every way. Arena B depends on Pomona for all the services and conveniences not provided by the small towns immediately surrounding the city. Arena C looks to Pomona for the district headquarters of numerous business and social organizations, and for the greatest variety of goods and services available in a single place between Pasadena and San Bernardino.



FIGURE 7.—Industrial plants in the central part of the railroad section. Three main line tracks of the Southern Pacific show in the foreground; the parallel Union Pacific right of way is slightly farther to the right.

THE RESIDENTIAL SECTIONS

Closely spaced residential establishments occupy the outer portions of the Urban District. Two distinct Residential sections can be recognized: (1) the newer, larger, more populous, and more prosperous Northern Residential Section which occupies a crescent-shaped area north of the Railroad and Northern Institutional Sections, and (2) the older, smaller, less populous, and less prosperous Southern Residential Section which occupies a squat T shaped area south of the Railroad and Southern Institutional Sections (Figure 3). The two Residential Sections show a localization of functions inasmuch as the one houses the high and upper-middle wage groups, while the other houses the lower-middle and low wage groups.

Residences in Pomona have been divided into four classes on the basis of quality—Superior, Better, Ordinary, and Inferior (Figure 9). Superior houses are large, attractively built and maintained residences set in large lots with a street frontage of 70 feet or more (Figure 10). Smooth velvety lawns and carefully tended shrubs and flower gardens surround Superior homes. In general spacing and in size the Better and the Ordinary type houses are similar; lots average little over 50 feet in width, and a majority of the buildings are five or six room bungalows (Figure 11). The Better homes, however, are



FIGURE 8.—The Congregational church and parish house. The establishment, located on the east side of Garey Avenue in the Northern Institutional Section, is one of the larger and finer of Pomona's many church edifices.

distinguished by their more substantial construction, their definitely good upkeep, and their neat lawns. Inferior residences in many cases occupy small lots, in most cases are of light construction, and in all cases are poorly kept up (Figure 12). Because of the cost of irrigation, lawns are either entirely lacking or are patchy and irregular in the yards which surround Inferior houses.

Over 80 per cent of the houses in both Residential Sections are bungalows. Better homes dominate the northern edge of the Northern Residential Section where they are built on land formerly devoted to citrus culture. Inferior houses, chiefly occupied by Mexicans, are found along the railroad tracks and in the southern part of the Southern Residential Section. Other parts of the two urban residential sections contain houses which range from 20 to 50 years in age. Some of these places were the homes of Pomona's leading citizens in the early days, but deterioration has now reduced practically all of them to Ordinary quality.

Other prominent functional forms found within the residential sections include several dozen neighborhood food markets and gasoline stations. Most of these establishments are scattered along

the major boulevards. In the extreme northern part of the Northern Residential Section is located the modern, well equipped Pomona Valley Community Hospital which serves Pomona and Arena B. The site occupied by this hospital is especially favorable because it is in a quiet part of the city, close to Garey Avenue, and adjacent to the prosperous Better Residential divisions.

THE PERI-URBAN DISTRICT

Three extensive areas, two to the south and one to the north of the Urban District, are occupied by functions which are neither strictly urban nor strictly rural (Figure 3). Transition zones of this kind are common features of the landscape in many cities even though the precise type of land utilization within them may, and in many cases does, assume a variety of forms. Pomona's three Peri-Urban Sections are exceedingly dissimilar although each has a relatively open pattern as compared with that of the Urban District.

The two southern sections of the Peri-Urban District function as residential areas. These sections are characterized by garden homes and by half-acre intensive poultry ranches producing eggs for the Los Angeles market. Formerly this territory was devoted to orchards of peaches, apricots, plums, and other deciduous fruits. In about 1900 it became evident that such crops were no longer profitable due to competition from more productive peach and apricot plantings on cheap land in Northern California, and because winters in the Pomona Area are subject to unseasonable mild spells which may cause sap to run at an unfavorable time. Since the early years of this century, and especially during the last 15 years, orchards gradually have been replaced by the present functional forms.

The remaining peri-urban area, the

Peri-Urban Community Section, is located northwest of the Urban District on the eastern end of the San Jose Hills and an adjoining tract of rough stony lowland. Although such property has little utility as agricultural land, it provides admirable, close-in sites for such

large scale community projects as the Fair Grounds, the Country Club, and a County Park as well as for an exclusive residential subdivision which capitalizes the rolling terrain and the superb view over the city, the Citrus Belt, and the San Gabriel Mountains (Figure 9).

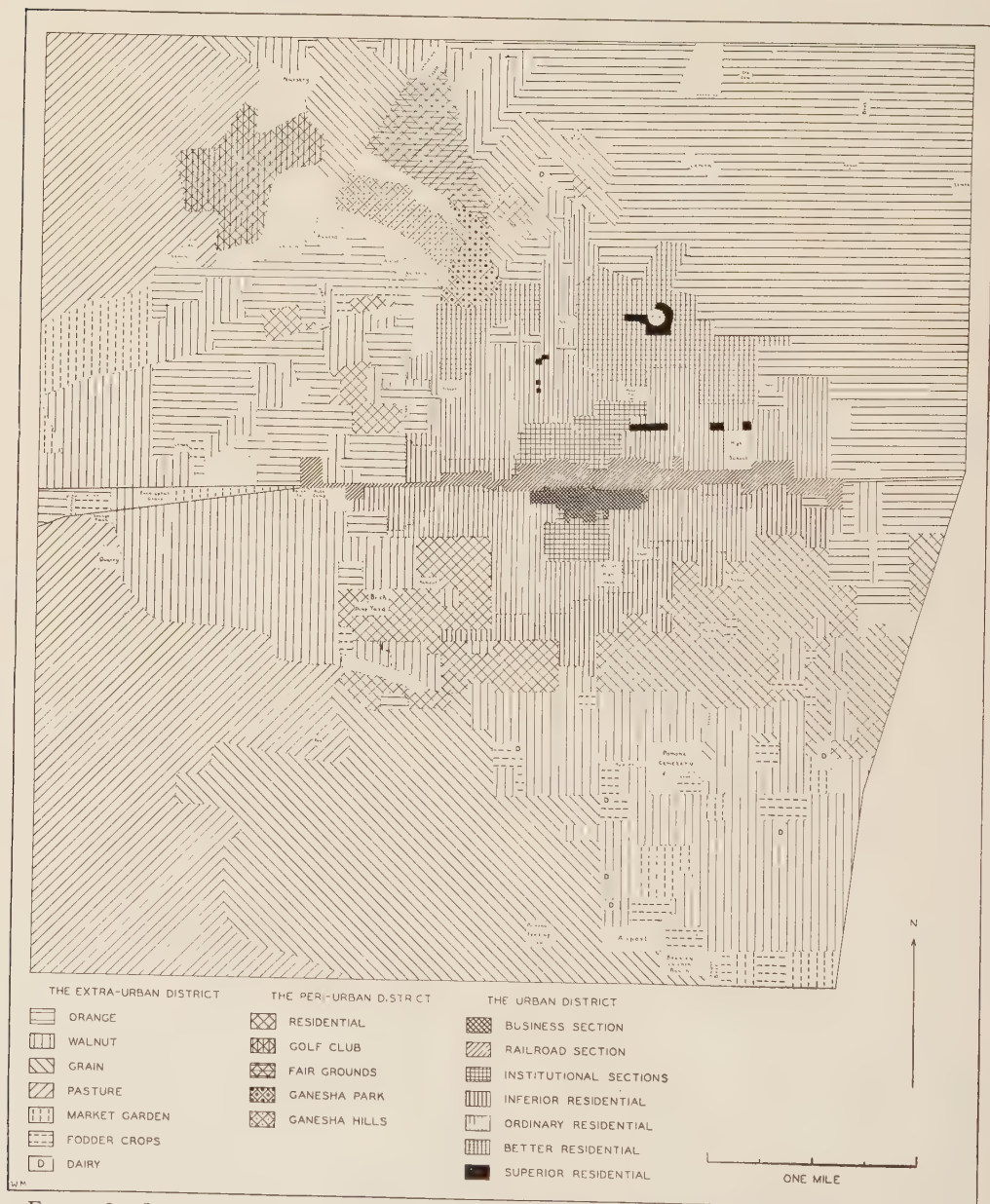


FIGURE 9.—Land utilization in the Pomona Area. District are broken down into divisions, and each major special or exceptional feature of the Peri-Urban and the Extra-Urban Districts is indicated. In this map the residential sections of the Urban District are broken down into divisions, and each major special or exceptional feature of the Peri-Urban and the Extra-Urban Districts is indicated. Unused land is shown blank.



FIGURE 10.—Superior type home fronting Lincoln Park. Artistic mansions like this, kept in excellent repair, stand in sharp contrast to the bungalows and small frame houses which almost entirely dominate the residential sections of the Pomona Urban District.

THE EXTRA-URBAN DISTRICT

Citrus production, walnut production, grain growing, and grazing are the chief functions carried on in the rural territory tributary to Pomona (Figure 1). Each of these functions is distinctly localized. Citrus fruits are raised on the upper, relatively frost-free slope of the piedmont alluvial plain, walnuts dominate the middle slope where frost hazards discourage citrus growing but where deep alkali free soils are well suited to the deep-rooted walnut trees, and grain and other field crops are grown on the heavy soils of the lower piedmont plain. Rough hill country, entirely unsuited to cropping, is characterized by sheep and cattle pasturing.

THE CITRUS SECTIONS

Orange and lemon production within the Pomona Area is localized in two sections, one to the northeast of the city—a part of the Southern California Citrus Belt—and one west of the city—a small ectochore which has been isolated from the main Citrus Belt by recent expansion of urban forms in the Northern Residential Section (Figure 3). These Citrus Sections are well suited for citrus growing by reason of their light soils, gently sloping surfaces, ease of irrigation, and well developed air drainage. Over 90 per cent of the land within the

Citrus Sections is devoted to profitable orange and lemon culture (Figure 9). In landscape and in functional practices the Citrus Sections are distinctive parts of the Extra-Urban District. Orange groves in this area average only about ten acres in size. Except for a small farmstead, each grove is occupied by rows of bushy, evergreen citrus trees planted 20 feet apart. Year around management is necessary to carry on the basic functional practices of fertilization, irrigation, cultivation, smudging, pest control, and harvesting.

Fertilization is an important functional practice in the Citrus Sections because the soils of the upper part of the piedmont alluvial plain are relatively poor in mineral salts and in humus (Figure 10). From 1,000 to 5,000 pounds of barnyard, commercial, and bean straw fertilizers are applied each year to every acre of citrus land. Cover crops, especially mustard, commonly are grown between the rows of trees during the rainy season. These crops are disked under in the late winter to add humus and valuable fertilizing agents to the soil.

Citrus fruits require about two acre feet of irrigation water during the dry season—from April to November. As in other parts of the Pomona Area water must be pumped from deep gravels of the piedmont plain, but the methods of obtaining and utilizing this water are functional practices localized within the Citrus Sections. Large scale growers own their wells and power pumps, but most of the numerous small growers belong to one of the several mutual water companies. All of these companies own extensive water rights and operate wells and pipe lines. Citrus trees have shallow roots so the groves are irrigated lightly at intervals of from three to four weeks.

Except during the winter season when

cover crops are growing, clean cultivation is practiced in the orange and lemon groves of the Citrus Sections. This process eliminates weeds, conserves water, and breaks the surface crust which forms on the soil after it has been wet.

Smudging is a functional practice which is entirely localized within the Citrus Sections. Although citrus groves are located on the upper comparatively frost-free slopes of the piedmont plain, freezing temperatures sometimes are experienced on clear, still winter nights. At such times orchard heaters (elaborate smudge pots) filled with cheap oil are ignited to stir up convection currents, to raise the temperature of the air near the trees, and to form a dense cloud of smoke thereby reducing radiation of ground heat.

The constant battle waged by citrus ranchers against insects and other pests is a strikingly characteristic feature of the Citrus Sections. Insects and other enemies seriously menace the health and even the lives of orange and lemon trees although the most dreaded pest, the Mediterranean Fruit Fly, apparently has been exterminated from the United States. Fumigation, spraying, and dusting are necessary to keep a grove in healthy condition. County agricultural agents inspect all groves at frequent intervals and enforce stringent legal regulations concerning pests.

Harvesting functions in the Citrus Sections are distinctive as to season and methods of performance. A great majority of the oranges grown in the Citrus Sections of the Pomona Area are navels which ripen in the winter. Gangs of experienced pickers, working by the day under the direction of the Exchange, use exceedingly careful methods in harvesting and handling this delicate fruit (Figure 13).

THE WALNUT SECTIONS

Groves of hardy Placentia or Eureka walnuts dominate two sections which almost surround the southern half of the Urban District and the Peri-Urban Residential Sections (Figure 3). The landscape here has a spotty aspect, however, for in addition to walnut groves there are a number of dairies, market gardens, and fields of fodder crops (Figure 9). Much of this territory formerly was occupied by deciduous fruit orchards. These orchards proved unprofitable and, during the last score of years, largely have been replaced by walnuts. Because of their large size and wide-spreading branches, walnut trees are planted from 40 to 60 feet apart in straight rows. This wide but regular spacing of trees, a feature characteristic of and localized within the Walnut Sections, contrasts sharply with the close spacing observed in the Citrus Sections. In general the functional practices of walnut culture are similar to those of citrus culture, but material differences are found in the seasons and in the methods of their performance.

Fertilization is a problem of only moderate importance in the Walnut sections for they are located on fairly heavy



FIGURE 11.—A typical bungalow of the ordinary type. Houses similar to this are characteristic of the ordinary divisions of the residential sections and are the most common dwelling not only in the Pomona Area but in Southern California.



FIGURE 12.—A small cottage of the inferior type. Many such homes in the inferior residential divisions are occupied by poor Mexican families. This dwelling shows every evidence of exceedingly light, cheap construction which, however, is serviceable in this mild, relatively dry climate. Potted plants on the porch and the aerial on the roof evidence the Mexican's desire for color and music.

soils of the middle slope of the piedmont plain. These soils are comparatively rich in humus and in mineral salts. Some walnut growers feel that the annual fall of leaves and tree litter is enough to maintain soil fertility, but others add small quantities of barnyard or commercial fertilizer. Winter cover crops commonly are raised in mature walnut groves for the same reasons and in the same way as in citrus groves.

Certain functional practices of irrigation are localized in the Walnut Sections. Because the water table is here relatively close to the surface (less than 100 feet) most walnut ranchers operate their own wells and pumps. Heavy irrigation is done about once in every six weeks to keep the deep-rooted walnut trees supplied with moisture.

Clean cultivation is characteristic of mature walnut groves, but a variety of inter-crops are raised in young groves while the trees are too small to shade much of the ground (Figure 14). By this method a grove can be made to pay its way before the walnut trees are large enough to bear in commercial quantities. Peaches are the most popular of these inter-crops, but vegetables and

fodders are favored by many ranchers.

Pruning, carried on in the winter when the bare limbs are visible and accessible, is the chief feature in caring for walnut trees. From the point of view of pest control the Walnut Sections stand in sharp contrast to the Citrus Sections. Because of the recency of this walnut development no pests have been observed until the last few years. Now, however, a certain amount of spraying and dusting is necessary in many groves in order to combat walnut husk flies, San Jose scale, and codling moths.

Walnut harvesting is, perhaps, the most unique functional practice of the Walnut Sections. Most operations are carried on by itinerant Mexican families who camp in the grove and supply at low cost the necessary unskilled labor. The men wield long poles to shake down the ripe nuts; then the women and children gather them from the ground, pull off the husks, and put the bare nuts into sacks. Later the rancher dries the nuts either in the sun or in an oil burning dehydrator before he hauls them to a nearby Association packing house.

THE GRAIN SECTIONS

Grain fields formerly covered much of the Pomona Area, but the introduction of more profitable crops has driven grain production back to the heavy clay soils of the lower piedmont and the rolling parts of the Puente Hills (Figure 3). Two small Grain Sections also occupy parts of a tract north of the Urban District where the soil is too rough and stony for horticulture.

The forms and functions of grain growing are entirely different from those characteristic of the other parts of the Extra-Urban District. Trees, roads, and houses—all common in the Citrus and the Walnut Sections—are exceptional features of the Grain Sec-

tions (Figure 15). Wheat and barley are grown by extensive, dry farming methods. Fields are seeded in January, after the rains have moistened the soil, and are harvested in late May by traveling threshing crews. Little attention is paid to the crop between planting and harvesting except to harrow the fields once or twice to hinder weed growth and to form a protective dust mulch.

THE PASTURE SECTIONS

The pasture sections occupy rough, infertile, unirrigable land in the higher and more remote parts of the San Jose and the Puente Hills (Figure 3). With only two small tracts, a quarry and the sewage disposal plant, devoted to functions other than grazing, these Sections provide the largest and most perfect examples of localization of functions in the Pomona Area (Figure 9). As the only non-agricultural part of the Extra-Urban District the Pasture Sections are unlike the Citrus, the Walnut, and the Grain Sections in every way except climate and situation.

Even the landscape expressions of this grazing activity—sheep, pens, and a bunk wagon—are distinctive of and localized within the Pasture Sections (Figure 16). A herder and his dogs run 2,000 head of sheep on this hill pasture during winter months when rains revive the native grass and shrubs. In the dry summer time these sheep are driven to the lower piedmont plain near Chino to feed on the sugar beet tops, tomato vines, and grain stubble then cheaply available in that area.

CONCLUSIONS

This study of the Pomona Area, with special reference to the localization of functions, warrants conclusions concerning (1) the relation of Pomona to Metropolitan Los Angeles, (2) the area tributary to Pomona, and (3) the prob-

able trends of functional development.

RELATION OF POMONA TO METROPOLITAN LOS ANGELES

The Bureau of the Census included Pomona within the boundaries of Metropolitan Los Angeles when, in 1930, it added to Los Angeles "all adjacent and contiguous civil divisions having a density of not less than 150 inhabitants per square mile." Such procedure may or may not be justified in the case of other cities, but this study of Pomona offers a mass of evidence showing conclusively that Pomona is definitely a country city, and not a part of Metropolitan Los Angeles.

Two natural factors (1) distance, and (2) the presence of marked topographic barriers—the San Jose and the Puente Hills—serve to isolate Pomona from Los Angeles and to give Pomona a market degree of local importance. The number and variety of retail stores, for example, indicate that Pomona has the character of a trading center rather than that of a suburb. Nine major oil companies maintain wholesale depots in Pomona to serve the city and the surrounding countryside; if Pomona were a suburb petroleum products probably would be distributed from Los Angeles.



FIGURE 13.—Picking navel oranges in February. Attention also is directed to the close spacing of the bushy orange trees and to the unmistakable evidences of clean cultivation.

The Pomona Valley Community Hospital, the presence of wholesale groceries, a large bakery, and a strong daily paper are other powerful evidences of independence from Los Angeles. It must be understood, however, that Pomona, like the other cities of Southern California, is tributary to Los Angeles in banking, wholesaling, luxury retailing, and those other "big city" functions which give Los Angeles its unusually developed capital quality.

TERRITORY TRIBUTARY TO POMONA

As one of the major country cities of Southern California, Pomona is the mar-

Angeles County Fair now is a tri-county organization representing Los Angeles, Orange, and Riverside Counties. Pomona-made canned fruits, pumps, and tile are favorably known throughout much of the United States. Pomona navel oranges are sold in those numerous and widely distributed parts of the commercial world which buy California citrus fruits. Reasonable quantities of Pomona-produced pumps and fruit wraps also enter into world trade.

Pomona's contacts with Arenas A, B, and C are vastly more numerous and frequent than are its contacts with more remote areas. However, even Arena



FIGURE 14.—Cultivating walnuts in March. The wide spacing and large size of walnut trees facilitate the use of modern farm machinery. Clods in the newly upturned earth in the foreground indicate the comparatively heavy character of this soil.

ket and service center for an important local territory. Three subdivisions—Arenas A, B, and C—are recognized in this territory. In addition to these three local service areas Pomona has definite relations with other parts of California, with most of the United States, and with several foreign countries. Pomona has a measure of importance in Southern California for (1) the activities of the California Fruit Wrapping Mills and the Brogdex Company tie Pomona to the citrus producing areas, (2) the Southern Service Company with headquarters in Pomona operates a chain of laundries in Southern California, and (3) the Los

C is tied to Pomona only by a relatively small number of functions. Arena B, by contrast, looks to Pomona for most of that wide variety of goods and services characteristic of a city of 20,000 population, but not commonly found in towns of 2,000 or 3,000 inhabitants. Arena B, therefore, is the maximum territory which logically can be considered to be Pomona's tributary area.

PROBABLE TRENDS OF FUNCTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Certain trends of functional development under way for some time can be recognized which, *certeris paribus*, may

be significant in the future of the Pomona Area. Each of the three major districts illustrates such trends.

The Urban District.—The growth of population in Pomona's Urban District probably will continue to be steady and somewhat slow. Since 1874 Pomona has shared in the steady population increase enjoyed by most cities of Southern California. This condition should maintain, for Pomona has a central and fairly average position in the valley of Southern California, and is well placed to participate in the expansion of many functions already established in this re-

ating. The more prosperous newcomers will demand houses on the North Side—especially along the northeastern border of the present Northern Residential Section. Poorer people probably will live south of the tracks where their homes will help fill out the normal crescent shape of the T shaped Southern Residential Section.

Unless rebuilding and modernization of residences progresses at a much accelerated rate, many old houses in the present Ordinary Residential Divisions can be expected to deteriorate till they are of Inferior quality. In this event the

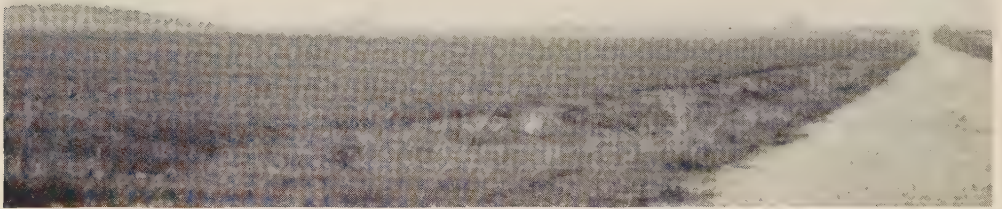


FIGURE 15.—A general view in the southwestern grain section near the southern border of the Pomona Area. The dark fields on the left are planted to grain. Trees in the background mark the beginning of walnut groves farther up the sloping piedmont plain.

gion as well as in the development of new functions. The anticipated slowness of this increase in population can be accounted for by the facts that much of the territory tributary to this city is almost unproductive hill country, that the more disirable parts of the tributary area are now quite intensively developed, and that the near-by smaller towns are increasing in size and reducing the number and frequency of the contacts which Pomona has with its tributary area.

With the coming of added population to Pomona a vital question will arise. Where will this population localize? The city seems sufficiently mature to warrant the assumption that there will be a continuance of the trends now oper-

Ordinary Residential Divisions will decrease in size, and the Inferior Residential Divisions will increase accordingly.

The Business Section probably will maintain itself as the chief retail district of the city. The intersection of Second Street and Garey Avenue, a major highway focal point of the Pomona Area, should continue to mark the heart of the shopping center. Further expansion of the Business Section can be expected to take place southward because this territory is closer to the heart of the shopping center than are the outer ends of Second Street; extension northward is blocked by the railroads. Continued development of the Uptown Business Center can be anticipated concomitantly with

the growth of the populous and prosperous Northern Residential Section.

Because of its superior transportation facilities, because of the relatively low cost of sites, and because of a newly adopted municipal zoning ordinance, commercial and manufactural plants will continue to localize in the Railroad Section. It is almost certain, however, that any new relatively large concerns will locate in the outer thirds of this section where large blocks of land are still available at reasonable cost.

New institutional functions may well locate in the present Institutional Sections. The same qualities which have attracted present-day institutional functions to these areas still maintain. Both the Northern and the Southern Institutional Sections are located near the center of the Urban District, close to the residential areas, and in reasonable proximity to the intersection of Second Street and Garey Avenue. In each of these sections, moreover, numerous sites now occupied by deteriorating houses are obtainable. Since the North Side definitely has emerged as the better residential area, new churches and clubs can be expected to locate in the Northern Institutional Section, but the Southern Institutional Section, partly because of its nearness to the Business Section, has become entrenched as the seat of governmental agencies.

The Peri-Urban District.—If and when the Southern Residential Section assumes a normal crescent shape, practically all of the southern Peri-Urban Residential Sections will be absorbed. This indicates that the forces of sequent occupancy are still of potential importance. Even relative stability can not be expected until this territory has been urbanized. The Peri-Urban Residential Sections, therefore, seem to be temporary features of the Pomona Area although they may be recognizable for



FIGURE 16.—Shepherd's cook and bunk wagon. This focal point of pasture activities is located near the sheep watering troughs in the Puente Hills, southwest of Pomona.

many years if the population of the city grows more slowly than is anticipated.

The Peri-Urban Community Section is ideally suited to the land it occupies and should be a permanent and perhaps an expanding feature of the Pomona Area. Mountain Meadows Country Club occupies a rolling basin in the San Jose Hills close to but outside of the municipal boundary where taxes are relatively low. The club is reached conveniently from the better residential sections of the city, and this combination of low taxes and convenience will work against migration of this institution. Ganesha Hills subdivision is between the Country Club and Ganesha Park just inside the city limits. Here homes can command water, fire protection, and other city facilities, as well as a magnificent view of the Citrus Belt and the San Gabriel Mountains. Ganesha Park occupies the abrupt eastern end of the San Jose Hills adjacent to the Urban District it is designed to serve. The Fair Grounds are on an area of level but infertile land close to the city and conveniently accessible from either Valley or Foothill Boulevards. Large size and high cost of installation will be powerful factors in maintaining all these functional forms in the Peri-Urban Community Section.

The Extra-Urban District.—Conditions in the Extra-Urban District can be expected to remain essentially as they

are; further expansion of the Northern Residential Section, however, almost surely will displace more orange groves. It also is probable that walnuts will invade some of the fields now devoted to fodder crops in the Walnut Sections, and some of the lighter soils in the eastern part of the Southwestern Grain Section.

The Pomona Area.—In general the Pomona Area seems to have entered the mature stage of its evolution. Devel-

opments will continue, but, except in the Peri-Urban Residential Sections, these developments should not result in pronounced changes. The Urban District is settled in its pattern, and citrus and walnut growing seem to be the climax functions of the extensive parts of the Extra-Urban District which they occupy. In short, the Pomona Area has assumed its rôle in Southern California and today appears as a comparatively stable, recognizable entity.

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